1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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553 [574] A child receives its name on the seventh, ninth, or eleventh day. A sumptuous meal is given to the community, and the grandfather (paternal, if possible) milks a cow, and pours the milk into a brass cup placed in the milk-house. With it a little cooked sāmai grain is mixed. The babe is washed with water brought from a stream; marked on the forehead with sacred ashes; a turmeric-dyed thread is tied round its waist; a silver or iron bangle placed on its wrists; and a silver bead tied by a thread round its neck. Thus decorated, the infant is taken up by the oldest man of the village who is not a widower, who gives it a name, which has already been chosen. The elder, and the child's parents and grandparents then place a little milk in its mouth.

852 Children, both male and female, go through a shaving ceremony, usually when they are seven months old. The infant is seated in the lap of a Badaga, and, after water has been applied to its head by a Badaga or a barber, the maternal uncle removes some of the hair with a razor, and then hands it over to another Badaga or a barber to complete the operation.

763 Of the death rites as carried out by the Badaga subdivision, the following note was recorded during a visit to Kotagiri. When death is drawing near, a gold coin, called Vīrarāya hana or fanam, dipped in butter or ghī, is given to the dying man to swallow. If he is too far gone to be capable of swallowing, the coin is, according to Mr. Natesa Sastri, tied round the arm. But our informants told us that this is not done at the present day. "If," Mr. Gover writes,* "the tiny coin slips down, well. [775] He will need both gold and ghī, the one to sustain his strength in the dark journey to the river of death, the

* *Op. cit.*

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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other to fee the guardian of the fairy-like bridge that spans the dreaded tide. If sense remains to the wretched man, he knows that now his death is nigh. Despair and the gold make recovery impossible, and there are none who have swallowed the Birianhana, and yet have lived. If insensibility or deathly weakness make it impossible for the coin to pass the thorax, it is carefully bound in cloth, and tied to the right arm, so that there may be nought to hinder the passage of a worthy soul into the regions of the blessed." The giving of the coin to the dying man is apparently an important item, and, in the Badaga folk-tales, a man on the point of death is made to ask for a Vīrarāya fanam. When life is extinct, the corpse is kept within the house until the erection of the funeral car (gudikattu) is completed. Though Gover states that the burning must not be delayed more than twenty-four hours, at the present day the Badagas postpone the funeral till all the near relations have assembled, even if this necessitates the keeping of the corpse for two or three days. Cremation may take place on any day, except Tuesday. News of a death is conveyed to distant hamlets (hattis) by a Toreya, who is paid a rupee for his services. On approaching a hamlet, he removes his turban, to signify the nature of his errand, and, standing on the side of a hill, yells out "Dho! Dho! who is in the hamlet"? Having imparted his news, he proceeds on his journey to the next hamlet. On the morning of the day fixed for the funeral, the corpse is taken on a charpoy or native cot to an open space, and a buffalo led thrice round it. The right hand of the corpse is then lifted up, and passed over the horns of the buffalo. A little milk is drawn, and poured into the mouth of the corpse. Prior to this ceremony, two or three buffaloes may be let loose, and one of them captured, after the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 796 The role of the Kotas in Badaga ritual is, or at least was until 1930, a crucial one, since custom required that Kotas provide the music at Badaga funerals, weddings and certain festivals (Ward, 1821, lxxvii; Harkness, 1832, 78–79).

177 764 (763) Badaga funerals take place in the village of the dead person. Whether they involve the Lingayat practice of inhumation or the general Shaivite practice of cremation, the ritual is not considered completely performed if a Kota band does not come to play dance music and lead the cortège. Thus as soon as a Badaga dies his village headman sends out word of the funeral plans, not only to other Badaga villages but also to the Kota partner of the dead person. This man will then arrange a party of eight Kota musicians to play at the funeral. The partner himself attends the ceremony but usually does not play an instrument then, for he is in mourning for his friend. The band regularly consists of two flutes, two drums, two tambourines (beaten with sticks) and two horns. The bandsmen go immediately to the bereaved house and there play music suitable for dancing.[10] It is a rule that the corpse should not be removed from the house until this performance has begun. However, if the funeral is to be on a lavish scale, word of it may have to be sent great distances—formerly by messengers on foot—and the Kotas will then have to play for two or three days before the main obsequies begin. Each time a party of visitors arrives from another village the Kota musicians go out with the headman a short way to welcome them. At night the Kotas light a fire on a veranda for warmth and sleep there if need be. If the dead man was rich his Kota partner may honour him by bringing two bands of musicians who take turns in playing through the night as well as the day. Once the corpse has been brought out in front of the house music is played for several hours while Badaga men dance around the catafalque. Each time the corpse is moved on for the next stage of the complex ritual it must be preceded by the band. When the corpse has finally been disposed of the Kotas return to their homes; they have not set foot on the burial or cremation ground and never enter a Badaga house.

There are certain definite articles that a Kota is required to bring to his Badaga partner's funeral. If the deceased was a male of a meat-eating (and so formerly a hunting) phratry, the Kota brings a roughly made bow and arrow to be burnt with the corpse.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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gingly of the elderly: "After becoming aged one's greed increases;" more sarcastic ones on the same theme are these: "As greed increases, the lifetime lessens," "As mist catches onto a peak, so her vilest characteristics catch hold of an old woman," and again, "Is it medicine for old age, like advice for a bad time?" This latter one refers to the belief that there is no further need for medicine when a person is old, just as a bad man is beyond need of advice. (The general world for all kinds of medicine, *maddu*, is used in this last proverb; it also means "magical potion," "opium" and "poison," however).

9.2. The general attitude towards adult women is not a charitable one: it is succinctly summed up in the saying, "The man knows the nature of others; his wife is an expert in cooking." In contrast to this, though, the status of women is never higher than in old age, and in a few cases old ladies have been members of the otherwise all-male village councils. The Lingayat Badagas in fact treat a post-menopausal woman as a man; but most Badagas do not, for if orthodox they still prohibit an old woman from eating or drinking in the inner and most sacred parts of the house. No ceremonies mark the occurrence of menopause; but Lingayat women are often given a *Linga* symbol to wear after it has occurred.

9.3. Older people have friends in their own village, but not elsewhere because of the difficulty they have in getting around. They select friends of equal age, and hence similar memories; but whether or not the friends are equally well-to-do seems unimportant. A pair of widows or else a pair of widowers are commonly good friends; and provided they are very old, even a widow and a widower can be close friends, treating each other as fictive brother and sister, without other villagers misinterpreting the relationship. Again, if they are extremely elderly, two men and their two wives may treat each other as *four* brothers. Then there is nothing scandalous about an old man sitting with the wife of his friend and talking to her for hours. In contrast with this, an old man with a young wife will not be particularly friendly with another old man whose wife is elderly.

9.4. It is believed that if a man wears gold his lifetime will lengthen. If on the other hand he sees two crows in the act of sexual congress, he will die within a year. An elderly man receives this information calmly; but a younger man will try to avoid his fate by counteracting the omen. This is done by going to a hill above a neighbouring hamlet, and shouting out to the villagers that he—mentioning himself by name—is dead. As he is careful that no one

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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761 789 sees who has shouted the news, some of his closer friends and relatives from that hamlet will immediately leave for his house, to pay respect to his corpse. A woman can resort to the same subterfuge only if she can find a man to make the dreadful pronouncement on her behalf. The process of misleading the mourning friends is supposed to prolong a person's life: it may also be done by relatives for an influential man who is indeed sick, but who they hope will be enabled to live longer by this process of cheating death. 763 This concern contrasts with the cynical treatment sometimes offered to dying people in the last century: "When a rich Badaga is very ill and the agony approaches all the relatives come and gather near him and see to it that he is well provided for his journey into the realm of the dead. For this end they make the dying man swallow two small gold pieces with butter... If the ill man does not die very soon and the relatives think he lasts too long they give him opium in order to hasten his hour of death." (Mörike 1849: 102).

763 825 As mentioned above, the sight of two crows in congress is an omen of impending death. Other birds give similar information. If the forest eagle-owl (*Huhua nipalensis*) calls $^{3}gu::_{1}$ there will certainly be a death soon in the hamlet where it was heard: if it is already past the new moon, death will come before the full moon. Thus if anyone is sick in the hamlet closest to where this bird is heard, people know he will die; and if no one is sick, women nearing their delivery take special care. (Other kinds of cries made by the same bird indicate whether or not rain is coming.)

761 539 Nothing is more certain than death. As various Badaga proverbs put it: "If you live to six years you will die; if you live to a hundred years you will die"; "Even though you can escape at any time you cannot escape the time of death;" "You have paid up his padded account after seeing it; there is no sorrow when a man dies in old age"; "Even if all the [Nilgiri] divisions leave you, the burial ground won't leave you alone"; and again, "Even if one lives a thousand years, death won't pass him by."

763 9.5. When an old person becomes sick and seems likely to die, he is given a separate bed even if he did not previously have one, and is treated with circumspection. Messages about his true condition are sent to a number of other Badaga hamlets where the dying man has relatives, inviting those people to visit him. Unless the dying person is more than 40 such visitors are not invited, because a much greater chance of recovery is presumed, while a large party

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of visitors might, on the other hand, cause heart failure in the sick person. The headman who sends the invitation to other villages merely directs it to other headmen, and does not stipulate how many visitors are expected. The party coming from each hamlet is organized by someone there related to the dying person; usually a male. These visitors may bring milk or other gifts when they come, and have to be fed by the family of the sick person during their visit. There is an element of bidding fareweli to the dying, which is often expressed by Badagas with the belief that nobody should be alone when he dies. At night-time, therefore, the lamp must remain alight and all of the villagers sit up singing songs or listening to the radio. This event is known as *no:ka:patu*, "watching the sick." It could continue for as long as several months of a terminal illness, although with a reduced number of participants after the first few nights (Mörike 1857: 60).

Badagas believe no one should die beyond the boundaries of his village. In recent times the hold of this custom has been such that one hears of patients dangerously ill in a hospital whose relatives insist on bringing them home to die, a decision which certainly kills some people who might otherwise have hope of recovery. Nevertheless one former headman said that after a discussion about whether to bring a dying woman from the hospital, he was recently able to prevail with the argument that a life is more precious than any custom, and that to bring the woman home before she had either got better or died was tantamount to murder, since the monsoon weather would surely finish her off in the hamlet.

Shortly before death occurs a 25-paise coin (1/4 rupee, but originally a small gold coin of another value) must be dipped in clarified butter and given to the dying person, who should try to swallow it. This rite of *hana benne* ("coin butter") is done even for children and those dying in hospitals, as it is thought that a person cannot get to heaven without this coin to pay for the food, drink and tolls on his journey there, and the butter will give him strength for it (Gover 1871: 66; Tignous 1911: 119). That some people choke on the coin seems very likely, and instances of a person recovering after swallowing the coin are numerous enough that today only a small minority still follow this custom. As a less acceptable alternative, the buttered coin may be inserted in the mouth after death, or else wrapped in a cloth and tied to the dying man's arm (Grigg 1880: 227; Natesa Sastri 1892: 833; Schmidt 1894: 257).

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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763 Although the Badagas do not write wills, a dying man may make
428 a benefactory statement, each wish in it being called *a:sa:la*
795 ("debt"). It is believed that if these wishes are not followed the spirit of the dead man will trouble some of his relatives. It does not possess the wrongdoer as a ghost but puts a curse on him. Since Badagas do not believe in a further reincarnation the spirit of the dead man will be able to go to heaven if he has done enough good deeds in this life. If his dying wishes are not followed, however, he will have to remain in limbo (*eḍe lo:ka*, "the middle place"). This dismal prospect should weigh heavily on his relatives.

763 In Badaga belief a person does not die when he gives out his last
764 breath, but rather when he takes in his last breath. This breath is believed to remain in his body for the next ten days, and enables the corpse to hear and be aware of everything that is going on around it, even though the dead person cannot open the eyes, speak, or move. Thus people commonly speak to a corpse during
764 the funeral. For most Badaga phratries this ceremony involves cre-
[615] mation one or two days later, on ground several hundred meters outside the hamlet. Lingayats and children are instead buried at that place, and nowadays poor widows of various phratries may have to be buried because cremation has become quite costly (Noble and Noble 1965).

762 9.6. Suicide is by no means uncommon among the Badagas, particularly among young married women, and it is most usually accomplished by swallowing opium. Failing that, the juice from oleander

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

Table 4. Death per thousand of the entire Rural Population of the Nilgiri Plateau, 1921-1930

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	Cholera	Small-pox	Plague	Fever	Dysentery/ Diarhoea	Other Causes	Total 1,000 People
Rural Coonoor taluk (1921-25)	0.20	0.30	0.10	10.20	6.10	9.40	26.40
Ditto (1926-30)	0.01	0.08	0.05	11.47	5.81	10.90	28.32
Rural Ootacamund taluk (1921-25)	0.80	0.50	0.30	21.90	4.60	10.90	38.30
Ditto (1926-30)	0.03	0.14	0.24	16.50	4.96	11.30	33.17

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(diagnosticians + exorcists + male specialists + male therapists) = (female therapists + female specialists + midwives).

10.4. Generally when a therapist goes to treat somebody she notes which girls are regularly present and, over a series of cases in that particular village, she slowly teaches these few girls her craft so that they can carry on after her. (This is in fact what K. Sithamma did, and was how she herself learnt from her husband's mother.) Then if a particular trainee is not present when she goes to see a patient, that person is sent for. Unrelated trainees are sometimes unavailable at the time a therapist calls for them, because of household duties. However, a therapist often teaches her sons' wives the art, as these young women are regularly available for training, and morever are eager to please their husband's mother. Since coercion is typically not used, it is a self-selecting process for someone to become a therapist. One hears of no jealousy between therapists; the older ones want the young to learn from them if they are properly motivated. As these younger therapists take over in their villages the old ones can work less, but will still handle the most serious cases and may also be consulted by young therapists or midwives. Even so, there are some who retain certain professional secrets that they refuse to divulge to a younger person until just before they die. These secrets include treatment for the final stage of *ka:male* (7.9), for the final stage of Big Wind (7.10), the plant which can cure a girl's infertility (6.62), and the plant used in the more advanced treatment for a white spot on the conjunctiva (6.36). It is felt that these things should only be passed on by a dying therapist to the person he or she has accepted as the prime successor. More generally, we may note that the professionalization of Badaga medical knowledge is sufficient to pose a barrier to its acquisition by laymen. A therapist sets and maintains her own conditions for selecting and training another generation. and tries to enforce her own standards of practice (Young 1976 : 10). Furthermore, the number of her patients declines as a therapist gets old. This is partly because the younger therapists are taking over, partly because the old person's hands may not be strong enough, for example, to deliver a child, and partly because many of the Badagas are now turning to scientific medicine.

There is no school or other formal institution for training Badaga therapists, and probably none of them has attended the large

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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of their experts. I have not been able to analyze individual cases, because the data were not available and I am not qualified to collect or evaluate them. What has been presented here is solely the view of Badaga medicine which some therapists have. It is not a complete emic account, for that would also have to take into consideration information provided by patients and their relatives concerning their views of illness episodes. If I were to develop a full etic account I would distinguish initially between functional disorders, parasitic ailments, nutritional diseases, and mental illness. Such a scientific categorization is cross-cut however, by the emic data, knowledge specific to Badaga culture, which offers such examples as the treatment of a functional disorder by nutritional adjustments, or parasitic ailments considered as supernatural experiences. Only on the subject of mortality was it possible to present an etic, statistical account (9.7-9.8) based on other sources than what Badagas could show and tell me.

In what follows I summarize some of their ideas on the causation and diagnosis of illness, insofar as these are reflected in their actual therapeutic practices. Nowhere in my field investigations, however, did I encounter any real systematization of these principles.

In reviewing Indian folk medicine, Khwaja Hassan (1964: 80) found that a failure to cure does not shake public belief; yet if a remedy works that is no surprise, because it was expected to. If the remedy does fail, something else is tried on the basis of a different diagnosis; but while this is true for Badagas they have a proverb counselling patience first: "Wait and see the effect of that medicine..." Another one asks: "Immediately after having drunk medicine, is it possible to get up and stand?" If the patient dies, they do not think that the treatment was inappropriate but that he was beyond help. Such attitudes may still be heard from most Badagas.

On this subject of diagnosis Hughes suggests that, "Diagnostic categories, however crude, serve the purpose of directing sustained attention and reflection to the appearance of disease syndromes, thus providing empirical data for inferences about the probable effectiveness of one type of treatment or another. Undoubtedly this constitutes a kind of inadvertent experimental approach." (Hughes 1968: 91) In a society that practices neither surgery nor postmortems other avenues for observation are closed.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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It is true that different Badaga therapists may give varying diagnoses of a complaint, and the recommended treatment will vary accordingly. A patient should follow the advice of the superior and most influential among the therapists he consults. A general Badaga attitude towards "experts" is expressed in a proverb: "It is half bad if you do something you know about, entirely bad if you do it when you are ignorant." The point is that a knowledgeable person will at least know what risks he is taking: mistakes are tolerated, blunders are not, as one informant put it. An incompetent therapist or midwife may be cut down to size with another proverb: "By claiming to have qualifications he became king; by spoiling it he became a poor man."

10.15. In ancient Sanskrit texts (Charaka Samhita I, etc.) it is stated that there are three aspects to man: behaviour, mind, and health (*pittam*). Although Badaga therapists have not been able to read such texts, they do believe there are three arteries in the wrist, one controlling each of these factors. These arteries pulsate, and one can tell whether they are "good" or not. In one small village of about three hundred people where I worked there were four men who had this diagnostic skill, but none of them ever practised as a therapist. I was told that such Badagas can check the pulse, on the right wrist of a male and the left of a female, to determine which aspect of the body is upset. Its associated artery will be pulsing irregularly. Athough being a diagnostician seems to be viewed as an informal and unimportant role by Badagas, it is clear that these men actually play a crucial part in deciding whether or not a person needs some therapeutic treatment; and to this extent there is a male surveillance over the (mainly female) therapists and their work. In the village just mentioned, for instance, it is worth noting that one of the four diagnosticians was the son of the only therapist there *and* was also the traditional (though inactive) headman. The other three men commanded a certain amount of respect too because of their social positions.

10.16. Dreams are not considered to cause illness, but they are certainly diagnostic of problems to come and are treated as omens by the Badagas. So if one dreams about snakes, it means there is something impure and thus threatening in the house. If one dreams of eating honey, he will get cold and become ill. If a woman dreams of eating fruit, especially oranges, she will become pregnant before the next menses. If she dreams of losing her nose-

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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or ear-rings, then her husband will die. If anyone dreams of a male buffalo, there will soon be a death in the village, probably among the dreamer's relatives (since Ya:ma, the Hindu god of death, comes riding on a buffalo). If one dreams of a woman approaching in a red *sa:ri*, this means a contagious disease will soon affect his house, his relatives or his village, usually through the disease-bearing goddess. Sometimes a person dreams of a woman in a red *sa:ri* leaving the village where there is an epidemic: this means the infection will now end.

Causation of Disease

10.17. The Badagas neither recognize any particular god as responsible for creating or curing all diseases, nor consider any one single health factor to cause all illness. As we have already seen, only a few of the diseases that Badagas cure are known by them to have a specific cause. Nevertheless we will briefly review here the variety of causes that therapists can cite.

(*a*) There are five diseases that are visited upon people by a goddess : these we have treated in detail above (7.1-7.6). A similar kind of causation was recognized for "Big Wind," where a bad spirit or deity was believed to have flicked a corner of its invisible clothing against the patient's body. Infertility in a woman is ultimately the will of God, although its immediate cause may in some instances be the failure of the couple to love each other sufficiently. Aside from these instances, however, the Badagas do not consider other chronic illnesses or bodily deformities to be inflicted by the gods : they are rather viewed as the effect of unknown sins committed by the victims themselves in previous incarnations. The will of a god and the effect of one's own or one's ancestors' sins cannot altogether be separated, however. If a person gets smallpox, for example, it means that he has done something impure; and in curing him the therapist must pray to Ma:riamma, the smallpox goddess, to forgive the patient's sins. In this way the curing process pleases the goddess and she may therefore oblige by doing what is required of her.

(*b*) Mental illness is caused by a bad spirit or bad ghost getting into the body. It is believed, on the other hand, that a person can become strong and healthy if a good ghost enters him, for it will help his body to grow.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

5. Adoption and Inheritance

Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

TABLE 1
Badaga House Ownership

	Adult males	Adult females
Owns no home, or shares part of one with other relatives	61.8%	72.3%
Owns 1 house	18.9%	13.4%
Owns 2 houses	6.6%	3.4%
Owns 3 houses	3.0%	
Owns 4 houses	2.7%	4.2%
Owns 5-9 houses		0.8%
Owns 10-29 houses	0.3%	0.8%
"Owns 30 or more houses"/d.k.	6.6%	5.0%
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

the men, a fact that is explained by the presence of some uncared-for widows in the sample, and also some unmarried daughters who did not feel like saying they "owned" their fathers' houses.

If a well-to-do man has built a subsidiary house somewhere, that one can be inherited by his eldest son. Failing that, the family home which is inherited and thenceforth owned by the youngest son may still be partitioned between his brothers. They would then be expected to give some rent or property to him in return.

Property is impartible until the owner's death, and then land is to be divided equally between his male heirs. The agreement on partition of the land has to be written down and signed by the beneficiaries. Each gets a registration document *(patta)* from the state government, attested by the village accountant. For partition of other moveable property no documentation is called for: the beneficiaries simply agree to the division in the presence of the headman and some village council members. Occasionally a sick old man may choose to arrange the division amongst his sons while he is still alive.

If a man should happen to die when his wife is pregnant, his property will not be divided until after the delivery; and if a son is born, he too will become one of the inheritors. Thus a young widow will be watched by her husband's relatives for a month after her bereavement to see that she menstruates. They then declare that she is not pregnant, thereby ensuring that she does not afterwards try to pass off an illegitimate son as an heir

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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poor and unable to maintain itself, the village Monegar himself by his own authority or on the representation of the fact by some of the villagers calls a council, and as its head directs that each well-to-do Badaga family of the village shall give to the destitute Badaga so much of their property—land, grain, vessels, houses, &c. This custom is of special interest as showing how much vitality the idea of joint property still possesses, an idea specially characteristic of the old village-community system. The importance of the Monegar and of the village council in all matters affecting the social life of the Badaga community also throws some light on its original constitution. In all the cases referred to above nothing can be done without that important functionary, the Monegar, and in everything affecting the existence of a Badaga in his village the Monegar's word is law.

We have now traced a Badaga from his birth onwards, and it only remains to describe the rites that are performed on the occasion of his death and funeral. If the person who has died is less than five years old, there is no elaborate ceremonial, but in the case of others the funeral rites are both elaborate and interesting. As soon as all hope of recovery is gone, the dying man is given a gold coin (*Virarâyan panam*), dipped in ghee, to swallow. The relations feel happy if he swallows it, for they think that that money will be serviceable to him in the other world. If he is unable to swallow it, it is tied round his arm. Let us suppose that he has drawn his last breath and let us trace the after rites. If the person that is dead is a married man, the parents or other relatives of the wife are already in attendance for the occasion and present her with a cloth, of any colour except white, worth Rs. 5. This is called the *Mukkâdu* cloth and is meant to cover her face while weeping. It is thus almost equivalent to the mourning dress of the widow in modern civilized nations. All the wife's jewels, which consist of a gold *Mûkkutti*—nose ring—*Velli Surupapi*—silver hand-bangle—and a pair of finger-rings, are removed. Her *Kadukkan*—ear-ring—alone is left on her. Unlike the custom of other Hindu societies the dead body remains inside the house till the time of its removal and is not removed to the threshold as soon as life is extinct, but the relatives do not eat till the body is about to be removed from the house. News is sent out at once to all the neighbouring villages of the death that has occurred and people begin to pour in. The death news is carried by the Toreyas, who perform many services for the Badagas for all of which they receive

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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763 payment. They are the lowest of the Baḍaga castes and are
564 regarded as the sons of the five high castes. As soon as the Toraya who carries the sad news approaches a Baḍaga village he removes his turban, so that the very sight of a Toraya without a turban on his head is a sign that he is bringing tidings of death, and the people gather round him at once and hear the news.

535 The Kôtas, the hill-musicians, come down now with their shrill
764 music. Then a curious dance commences and the more vehement
(648) the dance, the happier it is thought will be the soul of the departed in its transit to the other world. It lasts from morning to evening,
(715) and Torayas and Baḍagas including the near relatives of the dead Baḍaga take part in the dance. No woman mingles in the
[562] funeral dance if the dead person is a man, but if the deceased is a woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the dead, takes part in it. This is as it were a notice to the mourners who come to join in the funeral as to whether the dead person is a man or a woman. If no woman is seen in the party of dancers the visitors infer before reaching the house that it is a man that is dead, while if they see a woman among the dancers they know that it is the funeral of a woman that is being performed. Only Torayas mix
(648) in the dance with the Baḍagas. The Kôtas who are the musicians on this occasion are not allowed to do so, for they are considered to be of inferior, in fact, of the very lowest position. Some of the men that take part in the dance wear a curious long coat. When one has danced for a considerable time, he takes off the robe and hands it over to someone else who continues the exercise till he too has had enough of it. Whether this special dress has any peculiar
764 significance I cannot say at present. The Torayas then fetch green boughs and twigs from the neighbouring *sholas* and a car five feet long, three feet broad and eight feet high is constructed. When everything is ready all the people assembled go and show their
(524) respect for the corpse by touching it on the head. The Torayas alone touch the feet and worship the departed Baḍaga, an indication that they are rather servants than equals of the departed. The corpse is then brought out of the house to a cot placed outside. The agnatic kindred then wash it by pouring water over it and decorate it. Already preparations have been made for a grand feast and before the removal of the corpse every one eats
(774) his dinner, except perhaps the nearest relatives of the dead. This is to our ideas a most repulsive custom, and the only defence in favour of it is the belief they have that this feast refreshes the